

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE following abstract of the Report of the Committee presented to the Public Meeting held in Exeter Hall on Wednesday, the 21st June last, was omitted in our last number in consequence of the crowded state of its columns. It presents a brief view of the progress of the anti-slavery cause during the last year, and will shortly be printed, with illustrative appendices, for circulation among the members of the society.

The more the field of Christian philanthropy is explored, the more extensive it appears, and the more urgent its claim to exertion is felt. When GRANVILLE SHARPE first began his anti-slavery career, the solitary case of a poor oppressed slave engaged his attention, and fired his zeal; but the sphere of action soon began to widen, so that when the venerable CLARKSON, and his eloquent compeer, the late Mr. WILBERFORCE, commenced their course, the slave-trade—that execrable commerce in the human species—numbering its victims by tens of thousands per annum—absorbed their minds and nerved their hearts. But the prospect continued to widen, and slavery as it existed in the British colonies came within the vision, and to the extinction of that a BUXTON and a LUSHINGTON, a STEPHEN and a MACAULAY, devoted their time, their talents, and their influence. But the prospect widened still; for no sooner had slavery been abolished in those colonies, than the world, with its enslaved and suffering millions, came in view. From the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, there issued the mighty and heart-thrilling cry, “Come and help us!” Nor was that cry in vain: Christian philanthropy responded to its call. And this day is devoted to record the history of its efforts and triumphs during the past year; and to consider the great encouragement it has to prosecute its noble work with renewed activity and zeal.

Representing the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and in close alliance with kindred institutions in the United States, France, Holland, and the West Indies, the Committee respectfully present the following Report.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

This gigantic evil, by which Africa has been so long degraded and desolated, still continues. It has, however, its phases. During the past year, it is highly probable the number of slaves introduced into the Spanish Colonies has been less than formerly; but it is by no means certain that the number has so greatly diminished as the official reports represent. Over-production, want of markets, and want of capital have affected the demand for slaves for the moment. That demand, however, will spring up again when the present stocks are disposed of, and new markets offer inducements for increasing the productions of the soil, not less than from the rapid waste of human life which accompanies the slave-system of these colonies. In Brazil, there is reason to fear that the slave-trade has not very sensibly diminished. As to the horrors of the traffic, they continue unabated, and the Committee can see no effectual cure for the evil, but in the complete extinction of slavery itself. To this great point, the abolitionists of all countries should constantly and earnestly bend their attention, and direct their efforts.

HOME OPERATIONS.

BRITISH INDIA.

The first point in magnitude and importance to which the Committee directed its attention was slavery in British India, for they felt that so long as that great iniquity was allowed to exist, it was in vain to expect that other nations would give their countrymen credit for that sincerity and benevolence of purpose so justly claimed for them, first, in relation to the abolition of the African slave-trade, so long, so extensively, and so remorselessly carried on; and, secondly, in reference to the abolition of slavery, now so happily, though at so costly a sacrifice to the people of this country, accomplished in the British colonies. Both these great acts were supposed to have had their origin in the sinister and selfish policy of Great Britain; and not in an enlightened and Christian abhorrence of oppression and crime. To remove this false impression, and to strengthen their claim to be heard on behalf of the enslaved in other lands, the Committee determined to prosecute, with increased vigour, the abolition of slavery in British India, as an object of paramount importance to the anti-slavery cause. The preliminary steps had already been taken: information relative to its extent, its character, and its sanctions, had been extensively diffused; memorials to Government and petitions to Parliament had been presented; and all that remained to be done was to make an appeal, by suitable agency, to the country, in order to ensure success; when, in reply to their last address to the Government, they were informed that measures had been recommended to the Supreme Council of India, which, if adopted, would virtually terminate slavery in that part of the British empire.

The Committee have now the satisfaction of laying before their friends the copy of an Act which has become law, in which it will be seen that the assurance of the Government has been fully realized. It is as follows:—

“An Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company.

“1. It is hereby enacted and declared, that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell, or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

“2. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another, as a slave, shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate, within the territories of the East India Company.

“3. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any calling, art, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

“4. And it is hereby enacted, that any Act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.”

By this Act, slavery is legally abolished in British India; and if it be followed up, as we sincerely trust it will be, by a firm and conscientious determination, on the part of the authorities, to give it a positive and practical effect, it will be worthy of being recorded among the greatest events in modern history. Millions thereby will be emancipated from a bondage which reckons its existence by centuries; millions will be born free, who otherwise would have followed the degraded condition of their parents; and millions more, born free, will be prevented from becoming slaves by sale and purchase, to perpetuate that system of cruelty and sin. Kidnapping by the wandering Brinjarrie and Megpunnah Thug will then find no scope for its diabolical arts and atrocious murders; whilst a host of other evils, as disgusting for their impurity as they are hateful for their impiety, will rapidly disappear. The Christian missionary can be brought into contact with the most miserable, debased, and helpless of our race, and the holy and benign religion which he teaches, win for itself new triumphs from among the heathen.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The Committee are also gratified in being able to announce the final abolition of slavery in the British settlements of the East. This event is secured by an Act of the Governor-General in Council, and is second in importance only to that to which they have already drawn attention. It is as follows:—

“Whereas in certain parts of the Straits’ settlements, slavery has never had any legal existence, and in the other parts in which it is doubtful whether formerly it had such legal existence it is no longer warranted by custom, or the supposed rights connected therewith have been expressly abandoned,

“It is hereby declared and enacted, that in no parts of the Straits’ settlements shall the status of slavery be recognised as existing by law. And all courts and officers of law are hereby prohibited from enforcing any claims founded on any supposed rights of masters in regard to slaves within the settlements aforesaid, and are enjoined to afford protection to all persons against whom any supposed rights of slavery are attempted to be enforced.”

By this Act, which embraces in its operation Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley, it is believed from eight to ten thousand slaves will be liberated, and an atrocious slave-trade, chiefly carried on by Chinamen and Malay pirates, be effectually suppressed.

SCINDE.

The principle of abolition having once been recognised in reference to British India, no difficulty has been found in applying it to the country lately under the domination of the Ameers of Scinde, and which appears now to have become a portion of the British empire. Among the regulations issued for the government of that country is the following:—

“The Governor-General is pleased to direct, that all Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, and for the suppression of the slave-trade, shall have full force and effect in every part of Scinde, which is now, or may hereafter be, occupied by the British army.”

In recording their approbation of this act, the Committee must not be understood to sanction the means by which that country has become a British possession, as that would be to falsify

the most cherished principles of this society, and to connect the sacred cause of human freedom with devastation, rapine, and blood.

SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA.

One other point in connexion with British India requires to be noticed. Doubts had been entertained whether the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824, extended to that part of our dominions. These doubts had given rise to great discussion and inconvenience; to remove them, therefore, became not only desirable, but necessary. This has now been done. By an Act of the British Legislature, passed last session, the supposed defect of jurisdiction has been cured, and courts of Vice Admiralty established for the trial of offences committed against the Act in any part of British India.

Such has been the important progress of our great cause during the past year in a part of the world which is now undergoing a mighty social and moral revolution, and which promises hereafter to pour out a flood of blessings on all Asia. Yet the work of British abolitionists in the East is not done. Slavery may arise in new forms in those countries to which reference has been made, without the utmost watchfulness and care. Under the law of adoption, prevalent in India, children may be obtained from their parents or others for an equivalent, and in the rigorous seclusion of the habitations of the wealthy be subjected to the labour and treatment of slaves. There is nothing in the laws promulgated which appears to prevent this. Neither is there anything in these laws to prevent debtor-bondage from taking the place of the system of legalized slavery which has been, they trust, so happily abolished. The executive principle, so far as it is wanting in the enactments brought under review, must be supplied; and a vigilant and independent magistracy appointed to superintend their impartial administration.

CEYLON.

From private information received by the Committee several months since, they were informed that a registration law had been ordered to go into operation, the effect of which is described in the following extract of a letter, which appeared in the *Friend of India*, copied from the *Ceylon Observer*, of the 23rd March last:

"We give prominence," says the editor, "to the following extract from a letter of a correspondent in the Northern province:—'Some months ago, a circular letter from the London Anti-Slavery Society, containing queries on slavery in India, was put into my hands. I collected a mass of curious information, which may hereafter, if time permit, be rendered available towards a history of the system which too long existed in Ceylon, but which I hope and believe is now for ever numbered with the departed. I delayed replying to the circular until after the 1st January, when the effect of the late ordinance would be seen. The result has been such as must give pleasure to every friend of freedom. The sun of the 31st December, 1842, set on about 4000 men, women, and children, in this district (Wadernoratchy,) bearing the name of slaves; that of the 1st January, 1843, beheld them all *free!* not a single slave has been registered in this court, and I am happy to be enabled to inform you, on the best authority, that such also has been the result in the Northern districts: Jaffna, Malajam, the islands Temoratchy and Putehelepaly.

"In addition, I am enabled, on the authority of a respectable correspondent at Trincomallee, to say, that before the passing of the late ordinance, slavery had no longer any existence in that district.

"The number of slaves in Ceylon was recently set down at 30,000, the vast majority of whom belonged to the Northern districts. Seeing the effect of the ordinance here, I think I may safely assure you, that the same result has followed in every district of the island, and that slavery no longer pollutes our isle. If in any part it is otherwise, I should feel much obliged to any correspondent, who, through the medium of your columns, will inform me of the fact."

Most heartily will the Committee rejoice to find the statements contained in the foregoing extract fully confirmed; but when they recollect that the greater portion of the slaves in Ceylon have been four times forfeited under previous registration laws, their hopes are balanced by their fears, and they therefore wait with much anxiety an official authentication of the facts.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Whatever of anxiety might have been felt as to the results of emancipation in the British colonies, during the first three years of complete freedom, from the various causes to which the Committee adverted in their last Report, they are most happy to state it has been allayed by the events which have transpired since that period. The crisis of the sugar colonies appears to have been past. The quantity of produce shipped for the home market, during the year ending the 5th of January, 1843, as compared with that which preceded it, was considerably greater. The increase in sugar amounted to 326,215 cwt., and in coffee to 3,346,479 lbs.; and the prospect for the present year was still more cheering up to the period of the late earthquake in the West Indies, which occasioned so fearful a loss of human life in the French colonies, and of capital in the British. Antigua, St. Kitts, and Dominica, have suffered most in this respect; and their means, it is said, to a very great extent destroyed for securing their crops.

But, however gratifying it might be to the Committee to show from year to year the increasing agricultural and commercial prosperity of the emancipated colonies, they can never consent to make that the standard by which they are to judge of the blessings re-

sulting from personal freedom and the possession of social rights. They, therefore, never have, and never can, consider the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in the light of an experiment in political economy, but as an act of justice to a long-injured and deeply-suffering race. They measure it not by the wealth it pours into the lap of the planters, or the revenue it brings to the treasury; but by the physical good, the moral elevation, and the religious privileges it confers on its recipients. Tested by this standard, it has exceeded the highest expectations of its most sanguine friends.

The Committee are happy to state that the laws of the British colonies bearing on the relations sustained by employers and labourers is in an improved state, though much remains to be done to make them what they ought to be in some of their colonies.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

The Parliamentary Committees which were appointed last year, "To inquire into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, more especially with reference to their present relations with the neighbouring native tribes;" and, "Into the state of the different West Indian colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy;" having reported favourably on the subject of African emigration to the West Indies, the Government, at the solicitation of the West India body, have taken it into their own hands. For the present, however, it is confined to the British settlements at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, with the prospect of being hereafter extended to the countries of the Kroos and the Fishmen. Of course, an arrangement of this kind is open to less objection than if it were carried on by private persons; but notwithstanding the checks and guarantees which it proposes to give to prevent abuses, it is still open to most serious, if not to insurmountable objections. The Committee deprecate the measure:—First. Because, free and spontaneous emigration to the West India colonies cannot, they firmly believe, be secured except at the British settlements named, and at these only to a limited extent. Second. Because they believe it to afford a precedent to foreign slave-holding countries to people their territories and colonies with Africans, nominally free, but in reality slaves. Thirdly. Because it will give rise to a new form of slave-trading which no treaties can reach, and no laws can prevent. But supposing these general objections could be obviated, they would still feel obliged to take exception against the governmental plan:—1st. Because it imposes on the emancipated labourers a heavy amount of taxation, for the benefit of the planters and non-resident proprietors, which they conceive to be unjust. 2ndly. Because it admits of a great disparity of the sexes, which they are of opinion, in the present state of the West India population, would lead to great immorality. 3rdly. Because, precautionary measures have not been required of the colonies for the proper reception, and location of immigrants, and for securing to them the full enjoyment of the advantages held out. And, 4thly. Because, in their judgment a resort to Africa is not necessary to supply these colonies with such an addition to their labourers as, with the natural increase of the population, shall be amply sufficient to keep up and gradually to extend their cultivation, as necessity may require. The Government, however, having determined to make the experiment of African emigration to the West Indies, the Committee will watch its progress and developments with anxiety; and will rejoice to find that their fears have been without foundation, and that the benefits anticipated to result from it to Africa are fully realized.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO MAURITIUS.

Notwithstanding the strength of the objections of the late Governor-General of India, as well as of one of his council, against the relaxation of the restrictions on the further export of Coolies to Mauritius, except in the case of skilled labourers, the Government have determined upon allowing it to be carried on, and henceforth the shipments of this class of labourers to that colony will be limited only by the demand. The regulations adopted to prevent abuse are similar to those which apply to African emigration to the West Indies. The Committee, however, regret to say, that the Government consent to the importation of an unlimited number of the male sex, a measure which cannot fail to be fraught with the most revolting circumstances; and further, they are compelled to add that no provision is made to guard the families they may leave behind them from the most terrible destitution and misery, nor by the appointment of magistrates, speaking their language, for the due administration of the law, whether special or general, affecting their interests, or protecting their persons. In Mauritius there is no public opinion to control the dominant party. The press is in its power. It is satisfactory, however, to observe, that at Calcutta those friends of humanity who were chiefly instrumental in bringing to light and exposing the enormities connected with Coolie emigration heretofore, are still watchful; and the Committee are persuaded that on their constant and vigilant exertions, more than on the efforts of the Indian Government, it will depend whether the system of crimping and kidnapping shall not again be resorted to, and the atrocities connected with the export of Coolies be renewed. As to the fate of the Indian labourers in Mauritius, the Committee are persuaded that under the present system of management it will be deplorable: drunkenness and debauchery on their part, and exaction and neglect on that of their masters, being the chief characteristics. The private accounts from this island of the state of morals is truly

deplorable. The Committee sincerely hope the Government will endeavour to interpose an effectual remedy.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

It is scarcely possible to conceive how serious an obstacle the fact of British subjects holding slaves in foreign countries offers to the progress of anti-slavery sentiment and feeling in them; and how seriously it neutralizes the efforts of the British Government and people for the suppression of the African slave-trade. Their capital, their enterprise, and their skill are largely devoted to mining and other operations, requiring the labour, and, of course, the purchase of slaves, in Cuba and Brazil. Besides this, there is no doubt that by skilful and covert arrangements British merchants residing both at home and abroad aid and abet the traffic in human beings on the coast of Africa, and partake of its unrighteous gains. To bring these offenders against the acknowledged spirit, if not the strict letter of existing laws, within the reach of penalties, is an object of vast importance; and the Committee trust that the measure now before Parliament will be so perfected as to secure that great object in the most effectual manner.

FUGITIVE SLAVES WITHIN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

In the treaty which has been recently negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, there is an article inserted for the mutual surrender of criminals, embracing not only the most atrocious offences, treason excepted, but also those included in the comprehensive term of "robbery." Under this stipulation, the security of every fugitive from slavery may be compromised; and on some frivolous or false charge, concocted by his master, may be restored, not for trial before an impartial tribunal, but to the vengeance of incensed master, and to the horrors of a bondage from which he had escaped at the peril of his life. To guard this class of persons against so terrible a catastrophe, the Committee have exerted themselves in various ways, and now wait with deep solicitude the decision of Government and of Parliament on this most painfully important subject. This point, and the question of law raised in the United States by the case of the Creole, as well as the concessions supposed to have been made by the British envoy in relation thereto, deserve, and must have, the best attention of British abolitionists.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES.

The friends of the anti-slavery cause in the United States are beginning to understand the magnitude and importance of the great work they have undertaken, and, it may be added, to witness some of the fruits of their self-denying and noble exertions in behalf of oppressed humanity. Some of the free States have begun to look the manifold evils resulting from slavery in the face, and by a wise and just legislation to free themselves, as far as possible, from the guilt of upholding that system of iniquity. Among the States which have most honoured themselves may be reckoned Massachusetts and New York. Maine is prepared to follow; and Vermont has borne a noble testimony in favour of free institutions. From the various sources of information open to the Committee, it is quite clear that public opinion is ripening fast on the guilt and impolicy of slave-holding; and although the southern sections of the country cling to the practice with a desperate tenacity, the spirit of abolition is penetrating even them, diffusing light, and speaking equally to the conscience and to the interests of men. Among the valuable contributions to the anti-slavery cause issued during the year, is an able address to the non-slaveholders in the slave States, containing a variety of statistical information of the highest interest, accompanied by the most cogent arguments and pungent appeals. This pamphlet has been reprinted by the Committee, and deserves a wide circulation in countries where slavery exists or is allowed. Towards the friends of abolition in the United States, labouring in various ways, the Committee would express their cordial sympathy and esteem, and pray that they may abundantly prosper in their righteous undertaking.

HOLLAND.

In Holland, the Committee have reason to believe that the progress of the anti-slavery cause, though slow, is cheering. The appointment of a royal commission to inquire, it is understood, into the subject of slavery as it affects the colony of Surinam, is a proof that the Government is not indifferent to the subject. We understand that memorials have been prepared by our friends, couched in firm and respectful language, for presentation to the king. Among the works which have been translated into Dutch is that of "A Winter in the West Indies," by Joseph John Gurney. This able and interesting work, coupled with those which had previously appeared in the same language, compiled from parliamentary papers, cannot fail to have made a deep impression on the public mind, and will be followed, they trust, by the best results.

FRANCE.

It would have afforded the Committee sincere satisfaction to have reported that the French Government had at length presented a measure to the Chambers for the abolition of slavery in the colonies of France; but this has not yet been done. An able report, however, the fruit of nearly three years' labour, of a royal commission, has been presented to the Government and the Chambers, drawn up by the Duc de Broglie, its President, full of important matter, prefacing two drafts of laws; the first of which proposes the termination of slavery on the 1st of January,

1853, followed by a kind of serfage for five years; but securing, during the former period, certain ameliorations in the condition of the slaves; the latter more gradual in its operation, and which would extend the period when slavery should be finally abolished to at least the year 1863. In both cases, the planters to be indemnified for their slaves. The Committee refrain from offering an opinion on these projects, at the present time, farther than to express the earnest hope that they may be so modified as to secure, without delay, the enjoyment of complete liberty to the slave population of the French colonies, especially as their right to it is eloquently defended by the commission, and the safety of emancipation completely demonstrated in their able report.

SPAIN.

The fears that were expressed at the last anniversary of the Society, that the Government of Spain would resist the proposal of the British Government, for the establishment of a tribunal for ascertaining the slaves introduced into Cuba contrary to the faith of treaties and the laws of Spain, have been realized. The slave-trade papers laid before Parliament state that the Spanish Government refuse to sanction such a tribunal, and propose nothing as a substitute for it. So that unless the Government of this country can prevail on them by other means, at least one-half, or probably two-thirds, of the entire slave population of their colonies will still be held unlawfully in slavery. It is with regret that the Committee state in addition, that the Spanish Government refuse to place the emancipated, negroes liberated by the sentence of the Mixed Commission Court at Havana from slavery, under the protection of the British Government, with a view to their removal, with their own consent, to the British colonies. Indeed, it is quite clear from the whole of the diplomatic correspondence, in reference to the slave-trade, that the Spanish Government will admit nothing and concede nothing, though the facts of the case are notorious, and the duty imperative.

PORTUGAL.

In reference to Portugal, the aspect of things is brighter. A proposition was laid before the Chamber of Peers last year, suggesting the abolition of slavery in Portuguese India in fifteen years. This proposition was referred to a commission to report, and after having taken evidence they agreed to recommend its abolition in a period of three years from the passing of a law to that effect, together with a certain amount of compensation for the slaves. When the report may be taken up by the Chambers is uncertain. It is to be hoped, however, that the important subject will be pressed forward by the distinguished individuals who composed the commission, viz., the Duke de Palmella, the Viscount Sa da Bandeira, and the Count Lavradio. In the report which accompanies the project, the Committee are pleased to observe that the commissioners give it as their opinion that the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions in the East may be followed by its extinction in Africa.

URUGUAY.

Though the Committee have taken some pains to ascertain the present position of the abolition question in the South American republics, they have obtained no very accurate information of a late date on this interesting subject, except with respect to the oriental republic of Uruguay. This state, driven to extremities by the invading army of the Argentine republic, has manumitted its slave-population, for the purpose of their bearing arms in its defence, not, as it could have been wished, from a sense of justice and humanity. The Committee would hope, however, that whichever party in the sanguinary struggle now going forward, obtains the mastery, the liberty of the slaves will be preserved, though they have some reason to fear that this may not be the case.

HAYTI.

The Committee rejoice to state that freedom of intercourse between this country and Jamaica has at length been opened with the prospect of great advantage to both, by the repeal of an obnoxious law, passed in the year 1810, under the apprehension that the free-men of Hayti would indoctrinate the slaves of Jamaica with the love of liberty. So far as it can be ascertained, the late revolution in this important republic is popular, and likely to be attended with beneficial results. The Committee trust that a wise and moderate use may be made by the party now in power of their authority, and that they will feel that they can do much to promote the cause of freedom throughout the world.

TUNIS.

The enlightened and humane prince who rules in Tunis has followed up the abolition of the slave-trade, and the destruction of the slave-markets in his dominions, by declaring that all children born of slave parents from the 8th of December, 1842, should be free, and entitled in common with all other Mussulmans to the protection and privileges of the law. This Act is supposed to be the death-blow of slavery itself in Tunis, especially as the ministers of the Bey have followed his example in voluntarily manumitting their personal slaves, thus setting an example worthy to be followed by all professing the Christian name.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing their brief Report to a conclusion, the Committee cannot omit to state the serious loss which the Society has sustained since the last annual meeting, in the decease of its valuable and esteemed Secretary, Mr. Tredgold. To his many Christian excellencies and amiable manners, he added a warm and devoted attachment to the anti-slavery cause, and long, very long, will his memory

be cherished with affectionate respect and regret by his colleagues and friends.

The special duties which British abolitionists have to perform are neither few nor unimportant. For the general benefit of the sacred cause of freedom they have to watch over and record the great facts connected with the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, to obtain the repeal of obnoxious laws, and mark the further progress of legislation in them; to watch the operation of the laws recently promulgated in British India and the British settlements in the East; to rescue from slavery such British subjects as are now held in bondage in foreign slave-holding countries and colonies; to obtain the repeal of all laws affecting the rights of negroes and free people of colour, being British subjects, resorting to slave-holding countries on their lawful occasions; and to promote the entire abolition of slavery in every part of the British empire, whether it bear the name of the "Pawn System," as on the western coast of Africa, or "Debtor-bondage," as in various parts of the East; and to secure to all fugitive slaves seeking refuge within the British territories, in all parts of the world, the complete protection of their personal and of their civil rights. Such are some of the prominent duties of the abolitionists of this country; besides which, in carrying out the great design of the Society, they must promote, by all moral, religious, and pacific means, the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade.

Agreeably to the intimation contained in their last Report, a second general Anti-Slavery Convention has been held in this metropolis, the sittings of which commenced on the 13th of June and were continued by adjournments until yesterday, the 20th instant. It was attended by Delegates from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, France, Holland, and the West Indies, and was equal in interest and importance, and the Committee trust will rival, if it do not exceed, in its results, the Convention of 1840.

Commending this great cause to the sympathy, the prayers and the united exertions of Christian philanthropists throughout the world, and above all to the God of the oppressed, the Committee place before the members of the society this very short and imperfect statement of proceedings during the past year.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communication for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

FUNDS.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. They would especially remind them of the additional heavy expenses which have necessarily attended the late Convention. A distinct subscription has been opened to meet the same. Those friends who have collecting books will have the kindness to forward any such sums as they may have collected, as early as convenient. Donations and subscriptions are received by the treasurer, G. W. Alexander, Esq., at the office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad-street, London.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 12, 1843.

We announced to our readers, some time since, that Lord Brougham had introduced a bill into the House of Peers for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, in the design and in most of the details of which we heartily concurred. The bill was defective in some particulars, but its defects we hoped might be cured before it came to a second reading. In this we have been disappointed. The bill has been modified for the worse; and, in its present shape, is open to the most serious objections. We are grieved to say this, because we had expected that it would have been made so perfect in all its parts and details, as to have secured, so far as it was possible for legislation on such a subject to secure, the great end at which it aimed. British subjects in foreign slave-holding countries invest their capital, not only in the purchase of mines and plantations, but in the purchase of slaves to work them. This we believe to be contrary to British law. By the 5th Geo. 4, c. 113, s. 2, all dealing in slaves whatever is declared to be unlawful, except in such special cases as are mentioned in that act. The third section sets forth the pecuniary mulct, and the tenth makes all such dealings a felony, with transportation or hard labour. The thirteenth section points out the special cases excepted, which are solely dealing or trading in slaves lawfully being in any British territory, with the true intent and purpose of employing them in that territory. So that thenceforth no new slaves could be lawfully introduced into the British territories, nor could any British subjects deal in slaves in any part of the world.

So stood the law from June, 1824, to August, 1833, when, by the 3rd & 4th Will. 4, c. 73, s. 12, it was further enacted, "That from and after the 1st of August, 1834, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." Conse-

quently, as the slave-trade was already rendered unlawful everywhere, slavery is now unlawful everywhere, unless an exception can be found in its favour in this very act; and the exceptions in section 64 comprise only India, Ceylon, and St. Helena.

Such was the opinion of the late Sir John Jeremie, and such we believe to be the opinion of the most eminent legal authorities of the present day. But doubts, it appears, have been started; and a declaratory law has been deemed necessary to meet them. One of the designs, therefore, of the bill before Parliament was to fix the sense of the law, that no British subject could lawfully hold slaves, much less traffic in them, in any part of the world. But is this object accomplished by the bill? We think not, for we find by section 2, that British subjects residing within the dominions of the British Crown or any foreign country are forbidden to hold, hire, retain, or employ slaves *only* as domestics, or in any plantation, farm, manufactory, or mine. For any or all other purposes, from any thing that appears to the contrary, they may be held or hired. This would seem to contravene existing laws, and render it possible, for instance, that slaves might be employed as seamen within British waters, as well as in foreign countries, and that not only by British subjects, but by foreigners, who are simply forbidden, within the dominions of the British Crown, from holding, hiring, retaining, or employing slaves as domestics, or in the other ways specified above. It appears to us that under this clause, as it stands at present, an American might navigate a vessel, in part or in whole by slaves, to Liverpool or the Bahamas, and the right of *habeas corpus* be taken from them. At least, if it be not so, let it appear by removing all ambiguity from it; and the best way of doing this is to restore the clause as it originally stood in the bill drawn by Mr. Beldam.

We observe, also, by section 4, that British subjects may lawfully possess slaves by inheritance, devise, legacy, marriage, gift, or other act or consequence of law, other than purchase by voluntary act of the party, and that the slaves thus possessed up to the passing of this bill into a law, and until it goes into operation; and that all persons who may hereafter or thereafter become possessed of slaves in like manner shall have power "to sell, exchange, or otherwise part with the property in the same, in like manner as if this act had not passed." The high respect we entertain for the noble lord who has charge of this bill will not allow us to speak of this provision in the terms we think it deserves; but we say, that rather than be parties to it, we would prefer that the law, with all its imperfection and uncertainty, should remain as it at present stands. But when we add to this, that other provisions are contemplated, to meet the views of Lord Ashburton in respect to mortgages, &c., vitiating the bill still further, we confess that, reluctant as we are to offer a measure so much needed, our opposition, we are bound to do it. Never, with our consent, shall it be in the power of a British subject to purchase, hold, hire, or sell a man as a slave, in any part of the world, under any pretext whatsoever.

Having seen to what extent British law prohibits the dealing in slaves, and the holding of slaves to British subjects, we will now enquire how far the Spanish and Brazilian laws effect the same object. According to Spanish law, no person, whether native or foreign, could lawfully purchase a slave illicitly introduced into the possessions of that crown since 1820; nor, according to Brazilian law, any slave introduced in like manner into that empire, since 1830. Now it is a notorious fact, that the greater portion, if not the entire number of slaves worked in mines and on plantations owned by British subjects in these countries, have been obtained contrary to the laws both of their own country, as well as of those in which their criminal operations are carried on. Are these parties to be borne harmless who have thus dealt in slaves? Are the slaves they have obtained, by a double crime, to be sold, exchanged, or otherwise disposed of, for the benefit of those who are said to have "innocently" invested their money in this species of property? Are these slaves to be deprived of their rights—rights which the British Government are at this moment demanding for them? We trust not. The British Legislature will not do its duty if it sanction so grievous a departure from the principles of humanity and justice. All that a British subject who has, or may become possessed of slaves *innocently*, can rightfully claim, is immunity from the penalties the law may denounce against slave-holding, *until*—to use the language of the bill, so strangely at variance with the provisions which have been introduced,—"*until*, by some act of his own, or by the act of some other person, expressly authorized by him, he otherwise bring himself within the true intent and meaning of this act;" in which case, according to the original bill, the slaves would become forfeited to Her Majesty for the purpose of being made free; but according to this, the holders would have the power of sale vested in them, and would be secure from all penalties. If this view of the present bill be correct, will it not afford a precedent to Brazil and Spain in reference to their own subjects? And then what becomes of all the protests of the British Government against the illicit introduction of slaves? and what shall hinder these powers from passing laws similar to that now under consideration? We earnestly hope Lord Brougham will not listen to the importunities of men whose transactions, if they were brought to light, would involve them in the most serious responsibilities, as violators of existing laws; but that he will add to the fame he has already acquired by the eminent services he has rendered to the anti-slavery cause, by rendering the laws affecting slave-trading and slave-holding by British subjects, in all parts of the world, so clear, so comprehensive, and so stringent, as to defeat the ingenuity and craft of the

mercenary wretches who would carry on the one, and would perpetuate the other.

But we have not only to regret the changes made in the original bill. The noble lord has consented, on the suggestion of Mr. Ellis, to withdraw the two last clauses, which invest British consuls, residing in foreign countries, with powers of verifying registers, and inspecting the persons employed in mines or on plantations held by British subjects in such countries. The powers intended to be conferred on consuls by these clauses are, in our judgment, of vital importance to the success of the measure contemplated by the noble lord. If there are technical difficulties in the way of their passing in their present form, they can be made conditional, and then they would come into effect as soon as such difficulties were removed.

Other points, and those of no slight importance, such as the powers apparently conferred on lawful guardians, by the third clause of the bill, to consent to the life-servitude of their children or wards; and the regulations to be enforced on the coast of Africa, to prevent British merchants or their agents from aiding and abetting the slave-trade, deserve the most serious attention. We can only notice them at present; but we trust they will have the most serious consideration of Parliament before they become law.

It has been with great reluctance that we have made the foregoing remarks on a measure, which promised, when perfected, to lead to the noblest results; but fearing that if it passed in its present shape it would accomplish but little for the sacred cause in which we are engaged, whilst it would legalize transactions in connexion with slavery and the slave-trade, which we believe to be now unlawful to British subjects, we have been constrained to offer it our opposition; and we venture to say, that if we are to have any additional legislation on the subject, it should be complete, not partial; and should strike a vigorous and decided blow at the root of the evil, and not be designed merely to lop off some of its more unsightly branches.

THE bill for giving effect to the tenth clause of the Washington treaty, for the mutual surrender of criminals, is now before Parliament. Involving, as it does, a principle of vital importance, its progress through the Legislature is watched with more than ordinary attention and anxiety. To quiet the apprehensions of those who believe that under this clause fugitive slaves may be captured, not indeed as slaves, but as criminals charged with offences by their masters, for the purpose of recovering possession of their persons, the noble lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the recent debate on this subject, stated that no slave escaping with the clothes he had on, on the ground that they belonged to his master, nor the taking of a horse, nor the seizing of a boat, nor the appropriation of any thing necessary to his flight, could be construed into a crime, nor of course warrant the delivery of such slave, as an offender, on the requisition of the American Government. This important statement, accompanied as it was by the declaration of the noble lord, that "not only was a fugitive slave guilty of no crime in endeavouring to escape from a state of bondage, but he was entitled to the sympathy and encouragement of all those who were animated by Christian feeling," did his Lordship great honour. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact, that the slave-holders of the United States, who, in all that respects their slaves, are, as a body, destitute of all honour, will contrive to bend the clause to their base and selfish purposes; and will find no difficulty in trumping up a charge of robbery, backed up by the necessary affidavits, to bring the fugitives again within their clutches. As slave-holders, they have a double motive influencing them in the recovery of their slaves, namely, their value as property, which would otherwise be lost; and the necessity of deterring others from following their example, by showing them the possibility of recovering them even after they have sought and found refuge within the British territories.

To guard against the dangers which environ this subject, the noble Lord proposes, first, that no criminal shall be surrendered but on the application of the Federal Government: this, he believes, "will be a considerable security against an improper application;" and, secondly, in case of difficulty arising, the delivery of the offender shall not take place until his case has been referred home, when the "Government would, of course, be assisted by the best legal advice that could be obtained." But his Lordship rests mainly on the provision of the treaty which gives the power of terminating the operation of the extradition clause, should abuses arise—either Government being "at liberty to put an end to that part of the treaty, without being under the necessity of giving notice beforehand."

Now we think we know enough of the slave-holders of the United States to predict that abuses will arise. They are unscrupulous, and as sagacious as they are unscrupulous, and will hide their frauds under the cover of law, so that neither the noble lord nor the legal advisers of the Crown shall be able to detect them. The slave will be surrendered as a criminal—will be tried, not before an impartial tribunal, but by a bench of slave-holders possessing the functions both of judges and jury; and if found guilty, will be punished, and afterwards handed over to his master, to be dealt with at his discretion; or, if acquitted, will still become the prey of his master, and henceforth drag out a life of wretchedness, which cannot be contemplated without a shudder. The fact is, there is no security to the impartial application of the clause, but in excepting the fugitive slave altogether from its operation.

UNDER the head of "Colonial Intelligence" will be found some interesting notices of the working of the late Government measures

relating to emigration from India to Mauritius, and from Africa to the West Indies. In the former case there appears to be no lack of labourers, though we have reason to fear they have not all been obtained in a fair and honourable manner. Our friends at Calcutta will, however, we trust, keep a sharp look out. One painful fact is apparent, from the tabular statement given, that there is nothing like an approach to an equalization of the sexes in the emigrants shipped for Mauritius, the proportion showing 8 males to 1 female! This ought not to be allowed. It is subversive of all morality, and cannot fail to operate most injuriously on the indigenous population, as well as the immigrants. In the latter case, it appears that the vessels sent to Sierra Leone, under the command of lieutenants in the navy, have not been able to obtain a supply of emigrants, with the exception of a cargo of boys, the number not given, for Jamaica; thirty-two lads for British Guiana; and thirty-six, of the same class, for Trinidad. There does not appear to have been any girls shipped on board these vessels, and most, if not all the boys have been taken from school. The adult population refuse to emigrate. This speaks volumes. We believe this expensive scheme of recruiting the West Indies with labourers must be abandoned.

WE beg to call the special attention of our readers to the admirable address which follows, agreed to by the late General Anti-Slavery Convention. We think it cannot fail to carry conviction to the consciences of those to whom it is addressed. In matter and style it is perfectly unexceptionable. We trust our friends every where will feel it to be their duty to give it a wide circulation.

To the Members of Christian Churches in the several States of the American Union, and throughout the world, where the sin of slavery still continues.

It has been the most painful duty of this Convention to be compelled to reiterate the protests of former Conventions against the practice of Christian churches in the United States of America, who openly countenance, or abstain from denouncing the crime of slavery.

The sin of slavery is now so generally admitted, even by men who do not take the word of God as their guide, that it appears superfluous to this Convention to sustain their convictions by lengthened arguments.

It should suffice to state the simple fact, that where slavery exists, man necessarily becomes the property of his fellow man, and is thus accounted by him and dealt with as part of his goods and chattels. Consequent upon this is the amount of physical and mental suffering inflicted upon slaves, in the aggravated cruelties which are perpetrated in order to render that property more valuable and safe; and the mental pangs which are produced by the arbitrary disruption of the most sacred and endearing of earthly ties.

But far more fearful is that guilt which the slaveholder incurs in the moral degradation of the slave, so inseparable from a state of bondage, whereby he is kept in ignorance of that gospel which is emphatically declared to be "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people,"—"to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death," to guide our feet into the way of peace."

Man not only thus becomes the owner of the blood and sinews of his fellow man, but he assumes a property in his soul, which he unhesitatingly consigns to all the miseries which await the unrenewed and the depraved in another state. To slaveholders are addressed the solemn words of Jehovah, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

Yet greater must be the condemnation when such crimes are sanctioned and committed by those who profess and call themselves Christians, who are acting against the light of knowledge—against those remonstrances which have in former years been addressed to you by the friends of humanity in this and other lands—and especially against those convictions which this Convention must believe have again and again been produced on your minds by the Spirit of God in giving efficacy to the word of his grace.

Brethren, we tremble for your responsibility when you shall stand before the tribunal of the God of justice in the day of judgment. We pray for you, that you may see the great inconsistency of your conduct with your profession as members of Christ; and that with true repentance you may turn unto the Lord, and forsake this evil, which calls for the vengeance of the most high God.

Let no excuses be made for the continuance of this sin a single hour. We believe that the immediate emancipation of your slaves would be attended with the happiest results to them and to yourselves; but the consequences, whatever they be, we must leave with God, who has made the duty of every Christian in this matter plain, and requires implicit obedience to those great truths which he has promulgated for the government of his creatures, and which are designed to secure their temporal and eternal welfare.

There is another sin which must be charged against the churches of America; one which this Convention cannot name without feeling that its sanction and countenance by professing Christians calls for its especial denouncement.

The distinctions which are upheld between free men of colour—the men whose shackles have been broken—and the white population, are distinctions which must be abhorrent to the mind of God, who "has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." God is no respecter of persons; but you are of another spirit, and sanction the degradation of a portion of your fellow men. You thus countenance and perpetuate prejudices in the minds of those who do not profess to act

upon Christian principles, and you stand out from among the men of all nations, as violating the golden rule: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." We may well be astonished at the fact, and ask, is it possible that even in the church of Christ his disciples draw lines of demarcation to continue on the earth, but which shall be unknown in Heaven?

To you especially, the ministers of the cross, who are commissioned to proclaim the rectitude of God's laws, and to make known his salvation, we would affectionately address ourselves. How fearful will be your guilt if you countenance by your practice or by your silence so great a crime! If you give forth an uncertain sound, will you be clear from the blood of all men? Will not rather the people of your charge be guided in their conduct by you? and will they not witness against you in the great day of the Lord, that you failed to make known to them the whole counsel of God?

Oh! descendants of the men who left their father-land for conscience sake—Oh! fathers of the children who as they grow up are taught to proclaim the country of their birth as the land of liberty and of freedom; shake off the double inconsistency of which you are guilty, as Christians and as men! Let us hail you as brethren in Christ, and as possessing that freedom wherewith he makes his people free.

Let not another Convention have the pain which we have experienced this day whilst we affectionately, but with all fidelity, condemn you for evils which are great in the sight of God and abhorrent to the minds and hearts of his true disciples.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON,

London, 20th June, 1843.

President of the Convention.

SLAVE-TRADE SUPPRESSION BILL.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

I am desirous of calling thy attention to the following passage in Lord Brougham's speech, previous to the second reading of the bill introduced by him for the better suppression of the trade in slaves. "Another part of the bill went to prevent British subjects from investing capital in slave property; not only from purchasing slaves, but buying plantations where slaves are employed; not only from purchasing slaves in future, but from continuing to hold slaves. This was the only part of the bill which was likely to excite discussion. He did not see any reason why, when we had put down slavery in our own colonies and dominions, we should allow our own subjects to continue to hold slave property in foreign settlements. The offence was the same; the outrage against the principles of justice and humanity was the same; and this sort of competition against our own colonies by British subjects investing capitals in foreign colonies was what the Legislature ought to prevent, if it could, without running counter to right principles of policy. The bill proposed to do so, by making it penal for any British subject to hold such property in any foreign settlement."

Every sincere and enlightened friend of the slave would have rejoiced had the provisions enumerated in the above paragraph been fully carried out in the bill. This would have done much to discourage both the slave-trade and slavery in their strongest holds in regions in which treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade and laws for its suppression are worse than a dead letter, as they greatly increase the sufferings of its victims without materially diminishing their number. It is, however, it appears, intended to neutralize to a great extent, if not altogether, these provisions, "by an exception or proviso that the act should not extend to any property coming at any time hereafter to any British subject by marriage, descent, devise, bequest, or operation of law; to which he (Lord Brougham) was disposed to add, at the suggestion of a noble friend, or transfer by mortgage which shall take place without the voluntary act of holders."

Another exception is to be made. "The bill prohibited the selling of slaves, and also the holding of slaves, under a high penalty; but it gave ten months, within which a person holding slaves, by fair means or foul, had the power of parting with the property, and selling the slaves he so held, exactly as he might have done if the act had not passed; the consequence was, that any person who, before the act of 1824, and after the warning given by that act—against which abolitionists had objected, and he (Lord Brougham) was little able to answer their arguments; nevertheless, as they were now legislating in the matter which had given rise to such doubts, he was disposed to overlook what had taken place since 1824;—notwithstanding the warning given by that act, all who had become possessed of slaves might innocently and harmlessly part with such slaves till this bill should come into operation."

These large and, in my opinion, highly improper concessions to the present or future holders of slave property, are not sufficient to satisfy Lord Ashburton. That peer suggested that "the property (in his fellow man) might come to a person innocently," and that "a thousand circumstances might arise in which it was clear that a great engagement could not be undertaken without property falling to a party, by mortgage or other means." Hereupon Lord Brougham said "a difficulty occurred to him, which he should insert a proviso to prevent, by adding the words, 'provided it shall not be in a plantation, mine, manufactory, or warehouse,' to save the liability of British subjects who may employ slaves coming to them by mortgage."

Thus it appears to be the intention of Lord Brougham to make a further and most important exception in the proposed bill, by which British subjects will be allowed to hold slaves who are employed in those ways which offer the greatest inducement to hold man in bondage, and which are attended with the largest amount of suffering and death to the wretched victims of the slave-trade and slavery.

If such is to be the law, if passed, such the trifling with the sacred rights of men, a large proportion of whom, in Brazil and Cuba, are entitled to liberty by the laws of God and man, and by the obligation of treaty between those countries and Great Britain, it is my sincere desire that the sanction of the British Legislature will be withheld from so futile and objectionable an attempt to legislate on a subject of the deepest interest and importance.

I remain, respectfully,

Shorne, 7 mo. 10, 1843.

GEO. WM. ALEXANDER.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Friday, June 30th.

EXTRADITION OF OFFENDERS.

The Earl of ABERDEEN, in moving the second reading of the Apprehension of Offenders (America) Bill, said he presumed the object of the measure would meet with general support. In the state of society in which we live it seemed but natural and reasonable, that friendly and neighbouring states should aid each other in the detection and punishment of acts considered criminal by the whole of the civilized world, by which life and property were attacked. Many writers had maintained that this was a duty which governments owed to each other; among others, those who were most quoted, and considered of most authority in this country, Grotius and Vattel, both declared it a national duty. That doctrine had received support from English judges; but as the law stood, it was now, he believed, universally admitted, that no power of delivering any person to the authorities of a foreign state existed, without the sanction of an act of Parliament. The principle was fully laid down last year, in the case of the *Creole*, by noble and learned members of that house, that to deliver up the individuals concerned therein to be tried for murder, was not within the competence of government. Their lordships might be aware that the treaty of 1794 with the United States of America, contained a provision, similar in principle to the object of the present bill. The class of offenders to which that treaty related was not so numerous as that embraced by the present bill, and its duration was limited. It expired in 1806, and though a new treaty was negotiated in that year, as it was not ratified, no such stipulations had since been in existence. Various attempts had been made to renew this engagement, but in consequence of the state of feeling existing between the two governments, and the question raised on the frontier of Canada, it was impossible to come to an understanding on the subject with the United States government. A plan of a convention was, however, submitted to that Government in 1840, which led to no result, until the mission of his noble friend near him enabled him to take up the subject, and conclude an engagement with the United States similar to that proposed in 1840. The crimes specified in the treaty of Washington were—murder, assault with intent to commit murder, piracy, forgery, arson, robbery, or the utterance of forged paper. He did not anticipate that any inconvenience could arise from the carrying out of this treaty, except what referred to the case of fugitive slaves, and this was no doubt a subject that would require the utmost caution on the part of those who would have to administer the law arising from the new relations between the two countries. Some people had supposed that a fugitive slave might be delivered up under this treaty. This, he must say, was a most unfounded notion. Not only was a fugitive slave guilty of no crime in endeavouring to escape from a state of bondage, but he was entitled to the sympathy and encouragement of all those who were animated by Christian feelings. But then it had been said, a slave running away might be accused of theft on the ground that the very clothes he wore were not his own, but the property of his master. This, however, in his (the Earl of Aberdeen's) judgment, could never be construed into a theft. Nay, more, if the slave took a horse with him, or seized upon a boat, or, in short, appropriated to his use anything that was necessary to his flight, such an act could never be held to establish an *animus furandi*. Another point must be borne in mind, namely, that if at any time a fugitive slave should be demanded under this treaty, the demand would not be made by any slave state, but by the central government at Washington, and this would in itself be a considerable security against any improper application. Another security against any improper application would be found in the reference which would be made to the home government by the governors of colonies, in case of any difficulty arising, when the home government would of course be assisted by the best legal advice that could be obtained. But the great security was that by an express stipulation in the treaty, it was agreed that the article by which the two governments bound themselves to a mutual surrender of criminals, should continue in force only till one or other of the two governments signified its intention to terminate it, so that, whenever inconveniences arose, either government was at liberty to put an end to that part of the treaty, without being under the necessity of giving any notice beforehand. The convention with France was of a more limited nature. Here, also, a similar convention had been entered into on a former occasion, and provisions had been introduced into the Alien Bill, of 1802, with a view to give effect to it. But the peace at that period was so short in its duration, that the convention never came into force. The French government had since expressed an anxiety on several occasions to renew that treaty, and the present moment had been deemed particularly well calculated for renewing it, as it was thought desirable to improve that spirit of good neighbourhood and those friendly relations that at present so happily existed between the two countries. It had been thought most advisable, however, to begin with the same articles as were contained in the treaty of Amiens, and farther extension might afterwards be easily given to the principles. The treaty with France had been made valid for one year, and afterwards, until six months after either party had intimated a wish to terminate the arrangement. He hoped, under these circumstances, that no objection would be made to the second reading of these bills. (Hear.)

LORD BROUGHAM said he had listened with much gratification to the satisfactory statement of his noble friend, and particularly to that part of his application which referred to fugitive slaves. It might, however, be matter for future consideration whether it would not be better to introduce some explanatory clause into the bill, in order to do away with all ambiguity on this point. He could not sit down again without expressing the great satisfaction he felt at observing in these bills a proof of the good feeling that existed between the several countries parties to these treaties. The treaty, he had reason to know, had given great satisfaction in France; and certainly nothing more barbarous could be conceived than that in two countries, situated towards each other as England and France were, every foot of land in the one should serve as an asylum to the worst malefactor of the other. The feeling that would be shown during the progress through Parliament of the bill now under

consideration, would, he was convinced, be attended by the best effects in America; for nothing, he was persuaded, would be shown but the most kindly and respectful feelings towards that country by the Parliament, the government, and the people of this.

Lord COTTENHAM made a few remarks, but in so low a tone that they were very indistinctly heard in the gallery. He was understood to express an opinion that some legislative measure would be desirable to explain the nature of those acts that might be offences in the one country, but not in the other.

Lord CAMPBELL said that he highly approved of the bill.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said the suggestion of the noble and learned lord was certainly deserving of consideration, and he did not say but that some legislative measure would be necessary. Such a step, however, must be taken as the noble and learned lord suggested, sanctioned by the other house.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said there were two crimes omitted in the treaty with France, which were inserted in that with America. He should like to know the reason why such a difference existed.

The Earl of ABERDEEN.—Perhaps there was no very good reason why it should be so. The two treaties, however, had no connexion with each other. The reason of the omission which the noble marquis pointed out was this: the treaty of Amiens never having been carried into execution, it was thought prudent to renew its conditions, and the crimes now enumerated were all that were included in the former treaty. If it should be thought desirable, it was quite in the power of the two countries to add the crimes mentioned by the noble earl and others, if they thought fit. The French Government were desirous that the treaty should have been so extended; but, on his suggestion, they thought it the more prudent course to commence with the limited provisions of the former treaty.

Lord ASHBURTON, after confirming the view taken by the noble earl (Earl Aberdeen) as to crimes, said he could assure their lordships that there was no part of the treaty, which had received their lordships' approbation, that he looked to with more anxiety than its possible operation on the condition of slavery. It was quite clear that it was a barbarous system that a malefactor, by overstepping what was frequently a very narrow boundary between two countries, should escape punishment. One only wondered it had lasted so long. He could state some most atrocious cases, which would illustrate the necessity of some such measure. We had the satisfaction, too, of knowing that Mr. Jay's treaty had continued in operation twelve years, and no difficulty was found to arise under it. As to any difficulty that might occur with regard to the capture of slaves, it should be recollected that the slave-holding states were 300 miles distant from our territory. Besides, this question was now settled on perfectly fair grounds; namely, that a slave once landing on any part of our dominions could never be claimed, nor his liberty be called in question; while, on the other hand, it was understood that no attempt at propagandism should be attempted by us within the territory of the United States. These were the two principles on which the treaty was founded, and they seemed to him to be just and equitable. He had the satisfaction of knowing that since 1783 there probably never existed more amicable feelings than those which now prevailed between the two countries. (Hear.) He was sure that all wise statesmen in this country would cultivate that feeling, and he trusted it would invariably mark our intercourse for the future.

The bill was then read a second time.

Friday, July 8th.

SLAVE-TRADE SUPPRESSION BILL.

Lord BROUGHAM rose to bring before their lordships the important subject of which he had given notice, and to consider which their lordships were that day summoned. After the length at which he had argued the points connected with this measure in previous sessions, it would not be necessary for him to occupy more than a small portion of their lordships' time. He now found himself placed by no means in the painful predicament of urging on their lordships measures of justice, humanity, and sound policy, which, notwithstanding, were only to be carried by the sacrifice of the particular interests of large classes of their fellow-subjects. It did so happen, that if every principle of justice and humanity urged the adoption of this measure, for the more effectual prevention of the traffic in slaves, and of the employment of British subjects and capital in supporting slavery, our own fellow-subjects in the colonies had a mere pecuniary interest as direct in favour of the measure he now proposed, as the interest which the friends of humanity and justice took in the measure, on more extensive views, could be. He wished shortly to remind their lordships of what the peculiar position of the Parliament and the Crown was with respect to our colonial fellow-subjects, first, when they abolished the slave-trade, and next when they abolished slavery as a *status*, or condition, in our own colonies. In both of these instances it was in vain to deny that the course of our legislation ran counter to the interests of the colonial communities of the empire. When Parliament put down the slave-trade, it abolished at once a most lucrative branch of commerce; speculative, adventurous, hazardous beyond all doubt, but still affording such large gains to those who chose to embark in it, that he believed he might say with perfect confidence, that there never was any branch of British mercantile industry so eagerly plunged into, and so fondly and pertinaciously clung to, as the African slave-trade. It was the nature of mankind, and of mercantile speculation, that the very risk enhanced the delight of the gain which those who won the prizes in the lottery were sure to make; that gain being so enormous, that it was calculated if one voyage out of five or six succeeded, all the rest being mere failures, that fifth or sixth part of the stake played for made the fortune of all those engaged in it. The resolution of Parliament on this subject was founded, no doubt, on justice, humanity, and sound policy, but undoubtedly also it was detrimental to a large class of the traders of this country. So, again, when slavery was abolished in 1833, so satisfied were they that, in taking away all property in slaves, as it was impiously and profanely called by those who assumed the right of holding property in the persons of their fellow-creatures, and in declaring by law that they would no longer permit any man to hold such property—so undeniable was it, and they confessed it to be so by the compensation they gave for

it, that a very great loss was instantly and inevitably incurred by the slaveholders—that a sum of 20,000,000*l.* sterling was generously, but not more generously than justly, given by Parliament for the purpose of compensation. That was a large sum for this country to give, but justice compelled him to add, that it was not an extravagant sum for the planters. It might be very large for us, regard being had to the pressure of our burdens, and the condition of the country; but although the sacrifice made was such as to redound to the eternal honour of the people, their Government, and Parliament, if he were asked whether he believed, from all the inquiries he had been able to make into the consequences of the measure, that the compensation was complete and perfect, he was bound to answer in the negative. He was bound to state, by clear and decided opinion, that notwithstanding the enormity of the sacrifice made on our parts, the planters, as a body, had suffered very greatly in their pecuniary interests. He had seen very conflicting statements on this subject, but he should explain the difficulty in a few words. Some estates were so circumstanced, from the land being worn out, and in general from the bad condition of the property, that almost the only valuable portion of them was the negro slaves. To those who were receiving only a very moderate return from their property in the West Indies, their rightful share of the 20,000,000*l.*, proportioned to the number of their slaves, came to be a most valuable accession, enabling them to pay off their incumbrances, and leaving them, in some instances, a lucrative reversion; so that their affairs were in a better condition than before. These persons had no right to complain of emancipation; but their number bore but a small proportion to that of others who had suffered most severely. He did not wish to name names—it would be invidious to do so—but some most valued friends of his, both in that house and the other—not to go beyond the precincts of Parliament—had been losers to a great extent by the act of emancipation. He knew persons who had once counted their returns by thousands, but they had now sunk to hundreds: he knew others who had drawn hundreds, but who had now scarcely any West India property at all. The question then at once suggested itself, and this brought him to the leading feature of the present bill,—When Parliament inflicted the Emancipation Act on the West Indian body, did they mean that the planters should suffer for the gain of foreign colonies, not for that of their own fellow-subjects? Did they mean, when they prohibited the West Indians from trafficking in slaves, and declared the African slave-trade felony, when they abolished slavery, and awarded compensation to the owners, to transfer the slave-trade to the Spaniards or the Portuguese, or to the British subject who lent his capital, industry, and skill to the slavers of Cuba or Brazil? When his noble friend, Lord Seaford, at once yielded to the justice and humanity of the Emancipation Act, and his honourable friend, Mr. Bernal, of whom, after twenty years' experience, he might say that he had never known a better West Indian in all matters free from question of right or propriety, yielded in like manner,—did Parliament tell them, We have taken your slave property from you in order to endow others with it, that they may gain what you have lost, that they may become your competitors in the markets of the world for the supply of produce which we will no longer allow you to rear as you heretofore have done? Quite the contrary. It was the plain and evident intention of the Legislature to prevent British subjects all over the world from trading in slaves, and investing their capital either on slave ships or slave plantations. He was not now bringing forward any measure opposed to the interests of the planters, but those very interests were just as much bound up in it as those of justice and humanity. The Consolidation Act of the 4th George IV. prohibited British merchants from engaging directly or indirectly in the buying or selling of slaves all over the world. He had detailed to their lordships on a former occasion his reasons for holding that this was the true meaning of the act, and that there was not a shadow of foundation for the opinion that it was confined to British subjects engaged in the carrying trade from Africa across the sea, but that it was intended to prohibit also any buying or selling by British subjects out of the dominions of the Crown, as well as by any person, British subject or not, within the dominions of the Crown, with this proviso, however, that the penalties should not extend to persons engaged in buying, selling, or conveying slaves coastwise, or from one island to another, provided that such was done within the dominions of the Crown; a proof that the exception was not intended to extend to transactions of this kind without the dominions of the Crown. Different opinions having, however, been entertained as to the construction of this act, there appeared to be a necessity for a declaratory clause, enacting that it should be unlawful for any British subject, in any part of the world, to take part in any such transactions; the only question being whether the operation should be made prospective, so as to leave impunity to acts hitherto done in a real or supposed ignorance of the law. If this course were to be adopted, it would be necessary not only to state that the act should not have its application before a certain time, but to give a distinct indemnity to persons who might have acted in ignorance. No man doubted that if a British subject carried a cargo of slaves from the coast of Brazil to that of Cuba, he was guilty of felony by the Slave-trade Abolition Act, just as much as if he were engaged in carrying a cargo from the coast of Africa to the West Indies; but what was doubtful was the purchasing within Brazil or Cuba the slaves necessary for cultivating a given plantation. See how far this came to common African slave-trading. How was the line to be drawn? Was a man, a British subject, who happened to have a plantation near Rio Janeiro, and wanted to buy five or six slaves in order to supply the deficiency of his number, or extend cultivation, to be allowed to go out and meet a slaver at sea, in order to get the first of the market? Was he to go ten leagues out to sea with wherries, in which he might transfer the slaves to land? It would be monstrous to say no. It would be as much an act of slave-trading as if he had gone to the coast of Africa, and purchased slaves from the native chiefs. For this purpose the word transhipment had been used in his (Lord Brougham's) act. Was it to be allowed that an English planter was to go into the harbour of Rio, and wait there till a slaver arrived, and when the black flag was hoisted, or when whatever other signal was customary had been made, was the English planter to be allowed to go and buy the unhappy slaves, and bring them on shore? Was not that just as much an act of felony by the Slave-trade Abolition Act, as if the planter had gone and bought his slaves on the coast of Africa? Then—how were they to draw a line between the man who acted

as he (Lord Brougham) had described, and one who went for the purpose of slave traffic into the slave bazaar at Rio, where the poor creatures were cooped up like cattle, with chains upon their limbs, and weak and emaciated after all the horrors of the middle passage? Was the Englishman to be allowed to go and take away his purchased slaves from that bazaar? He (Lord Brougham) had no means of distinguishing between such practice and common slave-dealing, and he should continue to believe, till the Legislature told him the contrary, that it had been quite as much the object of the legislature to put down all such acts as he had described, as those more open acts of the slave-trade against which our legislation had been more immediately directed. The first part of the bill to which he was now directing the attention of their lordships, went to declare all buying, selling, or dealing in slaves, wherever it might be committed, to be a felonious action. Another part of the bill, he admitted, went a step farther than the law had hitherto gone. Its object was to prevent British subjects from investing their property in slaves; not merely to prevent them from purchasing slaves, but from continuing to hold slaves purchased in times past. No doubt this was the part of his bill that was most likely to lead to differences of opinion; but he could not see a reason why, after Parliament had put down slavery in the British dominions, British subjects should nevertheless be allowed to continue to hold slaves in foreign countries. If this was allowed, the necessary consequence was that there arose a competition of English capital against English colonists, and this competition it was that the Legislature was undeniably bound to prevent if it could. This the bill proposed to do, by making it penal for a British subject to hold slaves in any foreign settlement. But then, it had been said, a British subject might become possessed of slaves without any voluntary act of his own; and against that objection he had provided by a clause, stating that no part of this act should extend to any property coming to a British subject by marriage, descent, or bequest, or by any transfer of mortgage, provided it took place without any voluntary act of his own. There was another exception to this purpose: the act prohibited the selling of slaves under a heavy penalty, and also the holding of slaves, though under a minor penalty; but persons already possessed of slaves were to have eight or ten months given them, within which period they were to be allowed to part with that possession. The consequence would be, that all persons who, not only before the act of 1824, but even subsequently to the passing of that act,—and here he was bound to say that his views had been warmly opposed by other abolitionists, and he had found it very difficult to answer their objections; but he was to consider that all who had become possessed of slaves even since the act of 1824, should all be held to have acted innocently, and should be enabled, till the bill now proposed came into operation, innocently to part with those slaves. There were some minor points to which it would not now be necessary for him to call their attention, but which would probably come under their notice in the course of the progress of the measure. There were two clauses—the 9th and 10th, which had been intended to empower British consuls to watch the proceedings of British subjects and British trading companies in countries where slavery existed, but this he had since been assured might lead to some embarrassments, and his right honourable friend, Mr. Ellis, who had lately returned from Brazil, where his mission had by no means been unattended with result, even as far as the object was concerned—(hear, hear, from the Lord Chancellor)—had assured him (Lord Brougham) that no good was likely to be obtained from retaining this clause in the bill. Under such circumstances, he should not, of course, persist in pressing this clause on Parliament. There was another point on which it was necessary for him to say a few words. The way in which the innocent trade on the African coast was carried on, presented a subject of no little difficulty. Many persons in this country fitted out expeditions with goods for the African coast, and on their arrival there, those goods immediately found their way into the hands of persons engaged in the slave-trade, by whom they were afterwards employed in the purchase of slaves. Now, it would be a very unfortunate thing if the innocent trade to the African coast was put down; on the contrary, it was the wish of Parliament that that trade should be encouraged as much as possible, as the most effectual means of civilizing that great continent. He proposed to meet the difficulty, by giving to the executive government the power of issuing orders in council from time to time, for the purpose of regulating the trade, and correcting any abuses that might spring up in it. Lastly, with respect to mining companies in the hands of British speculators, he proposed to give to government the power of requiring security that those companies would not engage in any traffic that would directly or indirectly lead to the African slave-trade. The noble lord concluded by moving the second reading of the Slave Trade Suppression Bill.

Lord ASHBURTON said he did not rise to offer any opposition to the passage of the bill of his noble and learned friend. He had no doubt the measure would be made to attain a very desirable object, and he had no doubt, at the same time, that care would be taken to prevent the measure from bearing with severity on innocent persons, who happened to be engaged in commercial pursuits in those countries where slavery still continued to exist. No doubt it would be perfectly right and proper to prevent British subjects from purchasing property within countries where slavery continued to exist, and then investing capital in slaves for the purpose of working that property. But in Cuba and Brazil there were British merchants engaged in important commercial undertakings, men of extensive connexions, who had engaged millions of money, and gave employment to thousands of their fellow-subjects. Now it would not be an easy matter for men so circumstanced to pass their lives in such a country, without being drawn into the commission of acts that might be construed into offences against the provisions of this bill. He (Lord Ashburton) had not read the whole of the bill, but he hoped that provisions for the protection of such persons had been already introduced in it; or, if not, that such provisions would be introduced into it when in committee. There were a thousand chances by which property connected with slaves might come into a man's hands, but he (Lord Ashburton) had no doubt that before the bill passed through the two houses of Parliament, it would be carefully looked at, and examined by persons whose interests were likely to be affected by it.

Lord BROUGHAM said he had framed a clause to meet the difficulties

to which his noble friend had alluded, and should introduce it when the bill came into committee.

Colonial Intelligence.

MAURITIUS.—EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS.—The following tabular statement will show the number of Indian labourers embarked from the port of Calcutta for Mauritius, from 24th December, 1842, to the 11th April, 1843:—

VESSEL'S NAME.	Description.	Tonnage.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.	No. of Children.	Date of leaving Calcutta.
Emerald Isle	Ship.	501	213	20	1	1842. Dec. 24
Northumberland ..	do.	811	194	29	4	" .. 0
Swallow	Barque.	303	148	4	0	1843. Jan. 1
Kingston	do.	432	183	24	12	" .. 3
Shah Allum	Ship.	939	314	54	9	" .. 7
Oxford	do.	621	189	24	20	" .. 8
Henry	do.	656	223	22	4	" .. 19
Stalkart	Barque.	560	198	20	7	" .. 27
Isabella Robertson	Ship.	514	187	8	0	" .. 28
Gilbert Henderson	Barque.	517	183	5	3	Feb. 5
Fuzul Barrey	Ship.	714	240	26	4	" .. 6
Velore	do.	484	167	17	9	" .. 18
Juliana	do.	560	195	29	6	" .. 23
Framjee Cowasjee ..	do.	950	261	72	19	March 1
Parland	do.	546	174	25	10	" .. 3
Bintang	Barque.	264	93	5	4	" .. 15
Sulimany	Ship.	619	237	20	6	" .. 17
Mariam	do.	350	147	16	2	" .. 26
Charlotte	do.	397	88	13	1	April 1
Urgent	do.	622	208	37	10	" .. 7
William Turner ...	do.	488	95	8	2	" .. 11

VESSELS LOADING.

John William Dare.

Faize Allum.

From this statement it will be seen that the males are in the proportion of eight to one female! Two *duffadars*, convicted of sending sick, un-passed Coolies on board ship for Mauritius, by using the certificates of sound men, have been fined 200 rupees each.—*Calcutta Star*.

JAMAICA.—EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.—The *Glen Huntley* has arrived at Montego Bay with a cargo of immigrants, who, we are told, are young and well-informed, and are highly pleased with the island, and the sort of work they are called upon to perform.—*Royal Gazette*, June 2.

We learn that the *Glen Huntley* takes back to Sierra Leone fifteen highly recommended African immigrants, in the express character of delegates, besides several others who pay for their provision while on board, and will, it is hoped, prove useful assistants to the others. There are also some six or seven more Africans, to whom free passages have been given under peculiar circumstances. Four of the boys who came by the *Glen Huntley* return of their own accord, to tell their countrymen of the prospects they have in this island.—*Morning Journal*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—The barque *Arabian*, the Government chartered African immigration vessel, has arrived in twenty-one days from Sierra Leone, bringing *thirty-two* African boys as immigrants, the cost of whose introduction, taking the expenses of the vessel at the estimate of it made by the *Herald* of the 25th of March, cost the colony the very moderate sum of 250 dollars each! We shall grow rich at this rate. These boys have been distributed as follows:—Mon Reps, 8; William, 8; Schoonord, 8; Retrieve, 8.—*Royal Gazette*, May 18th and 23rd.

TRINIDAD.—ARRIVAL OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—The first of the Government vessels, the *Senator*, Lieut. Lister, came to anchor in this port yesterday evening, after a passage from Sierra Leone of twenty-five days. This vessel brings only 36 emigrants, although authorized to carry 206, a circumstance attributable, we understand, to the joint operation of two causes: the first, the strenuous opposition of the parties there, interested in preventing the fair operation of the scheme of emigration; and the second, the want of confidence in the character of the vessel, arising from her being unprovided with delegates.—*Trinidad Standard*, May 25.

We understand that twelve delegates will be sent back from this, selected, of course, from among the most intelligent of the Sierra Leone emigrants, and those supposed to have most influence with their countrymen, to make plain to the Africans of Sierra Leone and its neighbourhood the advantages which will accrue to them in emigrating to Trinidad. The next trip of the *Senator* will, therefore, in great measure, decide the momentous question of African emigration.—*Port of Spain Gazette*.

Miscellanea.

MORALS IN CUBA.—The Havana editors, after publishing the number of criminals arrested in that city during the year 1842, complain that their editorial brethren in Old Spain and elsewhere insert extravagant stories about the frequency of crime in Havana. Arrestations in 1842—

For murder	49
Stabbing	238
Robbery	200
Rape	16

If the Havaneros can brag about such a statement as this, we do not know what they will not boast of.

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